

# CO BBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## PEEPS.

THIS has been "*a Queen's Week*," as the people call it; and; therefore, the printer has been unable to get on as he expected to get on. The PEEPS, as described in my last, will not be published till the *Monday after next*.

TO

LORD VISCOUNT FOLKE-  
STONE.

On his *Public Letter*, calling  
upon the People of Berk-  
shire to meet, in order to Pe-  
tition the King to re-assemble  
the Parliament without loss  
of time.

London, Nov. 30, 1820.

MY LORD,

Believing your lordship to be  
an honest man, a man of good  
sense, a man not likely to act  
from momentary impulse, and  
being pretty sure, that you have  
never acted from mere party-  
motives; believing also, that  
you understand pretty well what  
is the real state of the affairs of  
this distracted country; and  
knowing, that you are neither  
lazier nor atock-jobber; with

this belief and this knowledge,  
it was with no small surprize  
and regret that I saw, in the  
public papers, your Letter of the  
23d instant, addressed to the No-  
bility, Gentry, Clergy, Freehold-  
ers, and Inhabitants, of the Coun-  
ty of Berks, on which Letter (af-  
ter having inserted it) I shall  
proceed to offer you, with great  
respect, such remarks as appear  
to me likely to be useful in the  
present crisis of our very tick-  
lish affairs.

GENTLEMEN,

"Though I have not the  
honour of any political con-  
nexion with you, and though  
I am known to you only as a  
resident and acting Magis-  
trate of the county of Berks,  
yet having occasionally met  
many of you at County Meet-  
ings, and having on those  
occasions always found a  
great concurrence of opinion  
amongst the majority of you  
on political subjects, I take  
the liberty of now address-  
ing you.

“ It is not many days since I  
 “ took upon myself to send to  
 “ several Gentlemen, resident in  
 “ different parts of the county,  
 “ copies of a proposed Requisition  
 “ to the Sheriff to call a  
 “ County Meeting, for the purpose  
 “ of addressing the King  
 “ on the treatment which the  
 “ Queen was experiencing at  
 “ the hands of his Ministers,  
 “ and of passing such Resolutions  
 “ as the state of the country  
 “ might seem to require;  
 “ but the event of this day,  
 “ and the scene I have just witnessed  
 “ in Parliament, do, in  
 “ my opinion, imperatively demand  
 “ that some further steps  
 “ should immediately be taken  
 “ by all who value the stability  
 “ of the Throne and the tranquillity  
 “ of the country.

“ It having been stated by  
 “ the Minister in the early part  
 “ of the proceedings against  
 “ the Queen, that no provision  
 “ could be made for her Majesty  
 “ while those proceedings were  
 “ pending, and it having been  
 “ lately intimated to her by  
 “ the same authority, that neither  
 “ could provision be made,  
 “ nor a residence supplied, till  
 “ Parliament met for the dispatch  
 “ of business, it does seem  
 “ a little extraordinary that the  
 “ Parliament being at that time  
 “ actually sitting, and the two  
 “ Houses being to meet, and a  
 “ call of the House of Commons  
 “ having been ordered for to-day,  
 “ that under these circumstances  
 “ a prorogation should take place.  
 “ But the case is infinitely  
 “ aggravated by this fact,  
 “ that the Queen had prepared  
 “ a Communication to the

“ House of Commons, and had  
 “ directed her Law Officers to  
 “ deliver it; that the Minister  
 “ was apprized of this intention,  
 “ and that the sitting of the  
 “ Commission for proroguing  
 “ the Parliament was so timed  
 “ as to preclude Mr. Denman  
 “ from presenting it, though he  
 “ rose at the very first possible  
 “ opportunity for that purpose.

“ This, however, is not all.  
 “ The Prorogation took place;  
 “ but, quite contrary to the  
 “ usual (I believe the invariable)  
 “ practice, no communication,  
 “ of any sort, was made to  
 “ the two Houses on the state  
 “ of affairs, and the political relations  
 “ of the country, internal or external;  
 “ though, most indubitably,  
 “ the events that have occurred,  
 “ both at home and abroad,  
 “ since the commencement of the  
 “ Session, have been of sufficient  
 “ importance to require that the  
 “ King's Ministers should have  
 “ advised his Majesty to state to  
 “ his Parliament his opinion  
 “ thereon.

“ Under these circumstances,  
 “ and considering the present  
 “ agitated state of the public  
 “ mind, I cannot but contemplate  
 “ the prorogation of the  
 “ Parliament till the 23d of  
 “ January as a measure pregnant  
 “ with the greatest danger to  
 “ the state, to the tranquillity  
 “ of the people, and thence to  
 “ their liberties, and to the permanency  
 “ of the civil and religious  
 “ establishments of the country.  
 “ I am, therefore, disposed  
 “ to propose, that a requisition  
 “ should be presented to the  
 “ High Sheriff to call

“ a public meeting of the county  
 “ as soon as possible, for the  
 “ purpose of praying the King  
 “ to re-assemble the Parliament  
 “ without loss of time ; and I  
 “ take this the most expeditious  
 “ mode of making known to  
 “ you my opinion, that in case  
 “ any of you should agree with  
 “ me, requisitions may be im-  
 “ mediately prepared, and sig-  
 “ natures procured to them,  
 “ which requisitions may be  
 “ either forwarded to the Sheriff  
 “ direct, or if sent to me, shall,  
 “ when collected, be transmitted  
 “ without delay.—I have the  
 “ honour to be, Gentlemen,  
 “ Your faithful humble servant,

“ FOLKESTONE.

“ Lower Grosvenor-street,  
 Nov. 23, 1820.”

Now, my lord, I entirely differ with you in opinion as to the *means* you here propose to be adopted. Your objects are, to obtain justice for the Queen ; to cause her to be placed in possession of her rights ; and to restore the people to a state of tranquillity. These are great objects. The accomplishment of them ought to be desired by us all. We all ought to labour with a view to that accomplishment ; and, as being more deeply interested than other men, having more at stake than other men, the nobility ought to be uncommonly sedulous in the performance of that labour.

Agreeing with you, then, as

to the objects of your proposed meeting ; seeing that those objects are all proper, and of great importance ; most anxiously wishing the objects to be accomplished ; ready to applaud every effort to effect the accomplishment, I can hardly express the mortification I experience at perceiving, that the *means* you propose are not only not calculated to answer the end you have in view, but that, in whatever degree they may be efficacious, they must, if employed, tend to prolong that delusion of persons in your lordship's situation, which has hitherto been such a scourge to the people, and which, if it do not very soon cease, will, in my opinion, bury such persons under the ruins of a fabric of their own pulling down.

The means proposed consist merely of *calling the Parliament together*. And, now, my lord, what ground is there for supposing, that they, if re-assembled, would do any good of any kind ? My taste may be bad ; my mind may have got an unhappy twist ; but I can truly say, that there is no part of the King's prerogative, the exercise of which has given me so much pleasure, as that of *proroguing*

the parliament, if I except that of *dissolving* it, which has always given me still more pleasure. I like even an *adjournment* of it; and the degree of this my liking is in direct proportion to its length. Saturdays and Sundays are my most comfortable days, during a session of parliament; and I look for Easter and Whitsuntide as I used to look for the fair-days of the town in which I was born. A new knife was not more charming to me then, than a day of silence at St. Stephen's is now. This taste has increased with my age and experience. I always feel gratitude to the King when he releases "my Lords and Gentlemen" from their labours; and the less the ceremony he uses in doing it, the greater is my gratitude. On my passage home, last November, I had fondly indulged the hope of having to enjoy *two whole months*; but, alas! I learned, even before I landed, that *parliament was to meet the very next day but one!* "Heave anchor, and let us go back," was upon the tip of my tongue! God bless his Majesty, I say, for proroguing this parliament; and, if he have, on the subject, any petition from

me, it will be, that he will be graciously pleased never to call it together again.

What good, I again ask, would be accomplished by re-assembling this parliament? What good of *any kind*; and especially what good as to the objects which your lordship has in view?

In the first place, I really do not see what the parliament has to do with this matter; or, at least, what it has to do with the matter until regular application be made to it by message from the Queen, or, which is much better, by petition from the people. The parliament, in settling the *Civil List* at the beginning of the session, made provision for the Queen, just as much as, and, indeed, more than a man makes provision for his son's wife, when he settles an income upon his son. It was not a bachelor King, or a widower King, that the nation was providing for. It did not contemplate the maintenance of a Court, the Drawing Rooms of which should be held by a man. The nation knew that it had a Queen as well as a King; and, in its munificence; in its boundless munificence, it made provision for both in the settlement

of the Civil List. The Grant is enormous, if we take into consideration the present low price of provisions and labour; perfectly enormous; and, therefore, who was to imagine that her present Majesty was not, in the same manner as her late Majesty, to have her maintenance out of that Civil List. Upon the late Queen, indeed, the parliament settled, at once, certain *manors* for her life; made a provision for her in case of her husband's death taking place before her's, and did every thing, in short, indicative of the nation's generosity. To make comparisons might be thought odious; but I am very certain that her late Majesty was not, by the people of this nation, held in greater estimation than her present Majesty; and I well know that she was not more worthy of every mark of our respect and affection.

To make these additional and voluntary settlements upon her Majesty, may require, and, indeed, do require, the intervention of parliament; but, as to the placing of her Majesty in a palace; as to the providing the pecuniary means for the maintenance of her state and dignity; surely the parliament

has nothing to do with these; at least, until prayed to interfere by the people in the way of Petition, or till regularly called upon by her Majesty after fruitless applications to her husband. It never can be that this oppressed and ruined people will approve of a separate maintenance; of separate place of residence; of these things supplied from any other source than that of the Civil List; which has been granted to the King, in quantities so abundant, for the use of her Majesty, as well as for the use of himself. There are palaces in abundance; and are these to be occupied by junior branches of the Royal Family, while her Majesty is placed in *hired lodgings*, at a new and heavy expence to the nation? But, there are several palaces wholly unoccupied. Why are these to stand empty, while the nation is called upon to furnish a place of abode for their Queen?

Supposing, however, that the intervention of Parliament were necessary with regard to her Majesty's affairs, where is the likelihood that the present Parliament, re-assembled, under the present circumstances and under the present Ministers, would do

any thing towards the accomplishment of the objects, which your lordship professes to have in view? You well know that, in this same Parliament, the Ministers have found a majority in each House, disposed to refuse to do that which you profess to have a desire to see done. Can justice be done to the Queen in your lordship's view of the matter, without placing her Royal name in the Liturgy, and was there not in the House to which your lordship belongs a majority of more than three to one against a proposition for adopting that measure? A measure, the adoption of which is absolutely necessary to the last great and praise-worthy object of your lordship, namely, that of restoring *tranquillity to the country*. It is true that many other measures are necessary to the restoration of public tranquillity; but this is one measure; and have not the present Ministers declared, in terms the most explicit, that *they* will not adopt that measure; and, in approval of that declaration, have they not, in the House of Commons, found a willing majority of more than three to one?

I must diverge here a little, in order to state my opinion as to

the importance of this measure. The *jester*, who amused his humane hearers, and drew from them a horse-laugh, in describing the *revered* and *ruptured* OGDEN; that *jester* who thus delighted the just and humane assembly of 1818; this *jester* also jested about the Liturgy; and ridiculed the idea of the benefit which her Majesty would have received upon having her name borne aloft in the voices of millions. Her Majesty's lawyers, with more gravity, but with little more justice to the subject, argued the matter as a question of religion. And Mr. Wilberforce ("pious to the last!") observed, that, though her Majesty's name were not heard from the mouths of the people, she would always be remembered in their private devotions.

Now, my lord, with the leave of the jester, the lawyers, and the saint, I shall view this matter as a mere affair of state and of politics. The whole of the Liturgy is, as you well know, the work of man, and that it came into being, and is kept in life, by divers *acts of Parliament*. We are to suppose that there is nothing in these acts, and in this Liturgy,

contrary to the Scriptures ; but we also know that the Liturgy itself is a human institution. It is a part of the law of the country ; and it would be monstrous hypocrisy to suppose that the obtaining of the efficacy of the people's prayers was the *sole* object of the insertion of the names of King and Queen in this Liturgy. This may, indeed, be in part the object of the law ; but to suppose that the prayers of the people would be more efficacious in behalf of their Majesties, on account of the repetition of their particular names, would be a species of blasphemy, seeing that God has expressly declared, that he is no *respector of persons*.

No : the main object of the insertion of the Royal names in the Liturgy was, and ever must be, to accustom us, from our infancy, to look up with respect and reverence to the human beings who are thus distinguished. There certainly is nothing irreligious, nothing insulting or degrading to religion, in the prayers for the several persons of the Royal Family. As a matter of policy, it is wise to make so marked a distinction with regard to those persons. That

man must have been a very inattentive observer, who does not know how powerful habit is in forming the minds of men. The style of proclamations ; the title of Kings' speeches ; the style of petitions ; all these, though abstract reasoning deems them arrogant or fulsome ; all these are necessary, and have been found to be necessary, too, even by the greatest Puritans in matters of government. The courts in America are called honourable ; and there are no bodies of persons in power that will even there receive any but *humble petitions*. Therefore, so far from quarrelling with the Liturgy as to this its mark of honour to the Sovereign and his family, I highly approve of it in this respect. But it is impossible for me to give it this approbation, and to see in it a most powerful means of training up the people to profound respect and reverence for those who are placed at the head of its great affairs ; it is impossible for me to view it in this light, without regarding the exclusion of her Majesty's name as the deepest of injuries to that gracious Queen, whose character is an honour to her family, to the nation and to the sex. Here are

the means of inculcating, in the minds of children, profound respect and reverence for her person; and these means are withdrawn from her, though they were possessed by all her predecessors; and herein is double injustice; positive injustice, in the first place, and then all the injustice arising from odious comparison.

This is the light, my lord, in which I view the question of the Liturgy; and this made me, from the beginning, declare, that every point sunk into insignificance when compared with that of the Liturgy. The people, who never fail to see in its true light, every matter which is fairly laid before them, have not failed to give, upon the present occasion, proof of their usual discernment. They perceive how vitally important the question of the Liturgy is to her Majesty. Even their very habits have been their teachers here. They have been accustomed, from the moment they could use their tongues, to sound the name of the Queen in the performance of the most solemn of their duties. It is not easy to account to them for this sudden change in this respect. They know nothing, or at least they

ought never to have known any thing, of that which has been at work to effect this change. The King has astounded them. From their wonder they have been awakened to reflection and inquiry. These have led to conclusions in their minds, by no means favourable to the stability of the throne and its associate establishments. In many places the consequence has already been a partial desertion of the churches; and where these consequences may end, it is not yet given to any of us to know.

The main object with regard to the Queen being, then, to place her Majesty's name in the Liturgy without loss of time, I come back to my question: How could the re-assembling of this Parliament possibly tend to the accomplishment of this object? Your Lordship cannot imagine that the same House of Commons, who voted three to one against the placing of her Majesty's name in the Liturgy, and that, too, when they had declared that no inquiry into her conduct ought to take place, would now vote for placing her name in the Liturgy, when the other House of Parliament has, by a decided major-

rity, declared that the charges against her were well founded.

It is true that the Bill did not pass there; and that the Queen ought to be regarded as completely acquitted of the charges. The Ministers did, in fact, abandon the Bill. They were afraid, after all, to strike the blow. Like noisy and hectoring shycocks they proceeded to the moment of the onset, and then gave up. They pulled off the coat; they pulled off the waistcoat, they even proceeded to the third stage, and stripped into buff; but, though numerous backed, and surrounded with bottle-holders, they did not dare to step into the ring. They coolly put on again the shirt, the waistcoat and the coat; got off the ground as fast as they could; but still they retain their friends and supporters. How, then, can your Lordship imagine, that this present Parliament, if re-assembled, would do justice to her Majesty, and would take efficient steps for that other great and laudable object that you have in view, namely, the tranquillizing of the country?

In order to see what chance there is of their adopting tranquillizing measures, let us look

at their declaration, at the opening of the Session. The King had been advised, by these same Ministers, to make complaints to them relative to the conduct of a certain part of his subjects; and to state to them his determination to employ the means that a former Parliament had put into his hands in order to crush or chastise the disaffected. This met with the unqualified echo of the Parliament. No conciliation was talked off; no relaxation of the system of sway was proposed; the six terrible acts remained in full force as they do to this hour; and this Parliament stands before us with an act of Parliament in force, which authorizes any justice of the peace to take up and to bind over, not only to answer the charge, but to keep the peace and be of good behaviour in the meanwhile, any man that such justice may deem to be guilty of having written, printed, or published, or of having uttered any thing which that justice may deem to tend to bring into contempt either House of Parliament! This Parliament also sees in existence another act empowering any judge to banish for life any man that may a second time be guilty of

doing any thing, as writer, printer, or publisher, tending to bring either House of Parliament into contempt!

Not only did this present Parliament see these acts in existence; but not one single man of either House was found, during a Session of nearly six months, to say so much as one word tending to remove these unparalleled restraints upon those well-known liberties, which have so long been the greatest and only true glory of the country.

What, then, again and again, I ask; what, then, would be the use of re-assembling, at this time, this Parliament? What hope is there that such re-assembling would tend to your lordship's object of *tranquillizing* the country. I pray you, my lord, not to deceive yourself. So long ago as the summer of 1817, far distant as I then was from this scene of turmoil and of peril, I besought your Lordship, with all the earnestness of a real friend, and with all the impressiveness of which I was master; and I will add, with all becoming respect due to your virtuous character and high rank: I besought you, I conjured you not to indulge the

delusive hope of seeing tranquillity restored to England by any means other than those of conciliation. If your Lordship be not *now* convinced of the delusiveness of such hope, any thing that I can say must be as bootless as throwing stones against the wind; and if you have arrived at this salutary conviction, suffer me to repeat, what good can you possibly expect from the re-assembling of this Parliament?

I hold it to be quite impossible; I take it for granted that you yourself think it impossible that the majority of the two Houses should turn about and vote against these same Ministers, and thus compel them to place the Queen's name in the Liturgy, and to adopt measures to tranquillize the people. And if this be so what but mere additional irritation could be produced by the re-assembling of the Parliament? I am aware that, though you do not say it, you may think that the re-assembling of the Parliament would produce a dispersion of the present Ministers, and a supplying of their place by other men; and, though I have lately said a good deal upon that subject, I cannot refrain from re-

viving it in this address to your Lordship.

This government is not only carried on according to a certain system, but by a certain *description of persons*, who, and who alone, understand it, and are fit to carry it on. Look at the offices of this government, and see who are the persons that fill them. You will find that these latter have actually been brought up in the system. They and their progenitors have not only lived upon the public stack, or mow, but they have eaten their way into it; and have actually *bred* in it. There are *two generations* of them constantly in office, which they appear to possess by inheritance, as clearly as you do your estate. Besides the chiefs, there is a *smaller* breed, who never attempt to aspire, and who unambitiously and harmoniously live with the big ones, as mice do with rats. Many of these latter can be traced back to their great grandfathers, or to their great grandmothers.

Talk of a change of Ministry, my Lord! Talk of putting such people out of office, and yet preserve the system unchanged! Talk of ousting these broods without taking the stack

to pieces! Alas! your Lordship remembers well, that this was tried in 1806 by those, who then, as now, called themselves Whigs; and you also well remember that, in less than fifteen months, they went off with lolling ears, deploring the folly of the attempt. There may be, at this time, some of them so desperately hungry as to wish to try the thing again; but, they will, I am convinced, find themselves joined by no man who has a character to loose. The Whigs were blamed, at that time, and not unjustly blamed, for suffering the under-set, the mice of the offices, to remain. They were told, and justly told, that if they suffered these to continue, their own destruction would be the speedy consequence. But, I went further. I told them that they must change the system itself; for that, an angel from heaven could do the country no service so long as that system remained, which rendered the employment of whole herds of lawyers and stock-jobbers necessary to carry it on. It was just, but it was useless, to complain of the retaining of the mice. If the system remained, the mice were necessary. If carried on

at all, it must not only be carried on by the present means, but by the present *men* and their blood relations. Nobody else in the world can understand its details; and they understand them *instinctively*.

It was observed by some speaker at the late Southwark Meeting, that nobody could deny that there was a great deal of difference between such men as Lord Erskine and Lord Grey, and such men as Lord Eldon and Lord Liverpool. Nobody does deny it. Nobody wishes to deny it. And nobody need deny it, in order to make out the position that a change of men would be of no use without a change of system. For, though the two former Lords have most nobly acted in the case of the Queen, and though they both opposed that Bill which has provided the sentence of banishment for us; though they both opposed the banishment, the introduction of which, instead of *transportation*, Lord Eldon said had *spoiled the Bill*; though they both most manfully and most ably reprobated the new doctrine, sent forth in Sidmouth's Circular, which of itself put an end to all real liberty of the press; though, in

short, the two former have so many claims to our confidence and to our gratitude for the greater part of their conduct during these last four terrible years; still, I say, that, without a change of the system, and particularly without a change of the Representation in the Commons' House, an administration with these two Lords at its head could take not one measure calculated to restore the country to tranquillity. Nay, I distinctly say, that I should be sorry to see them come into power without such change; and in this, my Lord, I am fully warranted by the conduct of Lord Grey himself, who, in voting for the divorce clause in the Bill against the Queen, frankly and honestly acknowledged, that he was actuated by the desire to make the thing *too bad to be endured*. This was not only good policy, but good morality; just as much as it would be good morality for a father to mix jalap in the wine of his son in order to disgust him with the odious habit of drunkenness.

To what conclusion, then, my Lord, do we come, at last. To the old conclusion, that no good to the country can come from any source without a Reform of

the Commons' House of Parliament, to which, as 'along the branches to the trunk, and down the trunk to the root, we trace all the fruit, the ruin, the misery, the immorality that have fallen upon a country, once so happy and so free.

Base are the men, who, by their sorry jests, or their vile abuse, would turn us aside from this inquiry. "What," they exclaim, "would Reform give you sunshine in November, or make the grass grow in January." No, you fool-rogues; and we do not ask you for sunshine in November in England; nor would we, if we could, have the grass grow in January. But, if you ask us whether Reform would speedily reduce the list of paupers to a mere nothing; if you ask us whether Reform would put a stop to the wide spreading ruin of industrious farmers and tradesmen; if you ask us whether it would send to labour, to beg or to starve, myriads of wretches who live by jobbing in the stocks in a constant and daring defiance of the laws; if you ask us whether it would render a standing army in time of peace useless; whether it would send men of experience, talent and honour to

represent our Sovereign at Foreign Courts; whether it would give a new spur to industry, encourage real talent and genius, award to the labourer the enjoyment of the sweat of his brow; if you ask us, you fool-rogues, whether a Reform would do these things, we say YES, and an infinite number of other things, the want of which is felt by every creature in this kingdom who does not live upon the wages of corruption.

Base are the vermin who, by a sorry mockery of seriousness, in asking us what we anticipate from Reform, would persuade us that we should get nothing by the change. If the Rich Ruffians of Coventry had not, by the assistance of a brutal and bloody banditti, kept me from shewing myself within the same walls with your Lordship, and filled up the seats of that insulted City by such men as Ellice and Moore, your Lordship should have heard, long ago, and in a very distinct and formal manner, a detail of the measures necessary to make this country once more worthy of the name of England. As it is, I perform my duty towards my country to the best of my judgment, and with my limited means, always happy

in the reflection, that, let come what will come, no mischief can happen to either King or people, that I have not endeavoured to prevent.

Of this, my lord, be assured, that with whatever pertinacity you may cling to the Borough of Downton, and to the Corporation of the City of Salisbury, you and I shall live to see the day when the people at large will have their fair share in the representation, and when the *Commons' House of Parliament will not consist, in the proportion of THREE FIFTHS, of the sons and other relations of the Peers!*

Furious, indeed, has been the driving downwards of the privileged classes within the last four years. It was this very month, four years ago, that I published that Address to the *Journey-men and Labourers*, which really formed the dawning of a new era in the minds of the people. Powerful, bitter, and cruel have the enemies of Reform been; but powerful, also, are reason, truth, and justice, supported and urged forward by industry and talent. I confess, that, on our part, we have given many proofs of most bitter and implacable resentment. I do

not wish to disguise that I myself have done many things, which, in themselves considered, would strongly savour of a desire to degrade and destroy. But, and I call my country to witness the declaration, whether all my acts, taken together, and placed in their most exaggerated light, do not fall infinitely short of the provocation, given to me in common with those whose only real offence has been calling for that Reform without which there is neither happiness nor security for the people nor for the King.

I would ask, as I asked the Regent in a letter addressed to him about a year ago, "*where is this to end?*" In a yielding of the people? Never! In their extermination? That is impossible. The struggle must go on; or a Reform must take place; and, in still persisting, as I do, to call upon the borough-holders to yield, I am actuated, I must be actuated, by a desire to see tranquillity and happiness restored without involving them in the natural consequences of unbridled fury. For, as to the people, how are they to suffer from the continuation of the struggle; and as to my particular self, what have I to apprehend further, short of a censor-

ship; for which, I most solemnly declare, I should not care one single straw.

Thus, I have, once more, laid before your Lordship a much truer account of your situation than you will receive from any other quarter; and I most respectfully beseech you not to believe that I speak the sentiments of those only whom Castlereagh had the audacity to call the basest populace. I speak the opinions of ninety-nine hundredths of the people, excepting those only who live upon the taxes. I told your Lordship, in July 1817, that there must be a change in the system, and that your only choice lay between a change, coming in such a way as would make the order to which you belong safe under the protection of the gratitude of this forgetting and good natured people, and a change coming in such a way as to place gratitude out of the question, and to make forgetfulness and good will utterly impossible. My opinion being in no wise changed; but, on the contrary, being greatly strengthened by time and events, I have only to repeat the advice which I then offered to your Lordship, and to add an expression of my anxious wish that you may be

disposed to listen to it rather than to the quirkings of lawyers, and the worse than gaming-house-slang of loan-jobbers and stock-jobbers, who, take my word for it, are the real and only conspirators against your title and estate.

I cannot conclude without asking you, flat and plain, how your Lordship, with all your good-sense, with all your knowledge of the subject, could, not sit silent, but actually lend your hand, in an indirect manner, to a measure, which, if it were possible to carry it into full effect, must, of necessity, leave your son as landless as the lowest of your labourers; a measure that must of necessity put some loan jobber or stock jobber into Coleshill House and Longford Castle? What is to deliver you from this terrible measure? Nothing in this world short of a Reform of the Parliament; and astonishing it is to me that you do not perceive it. That which I said in my leave-taking address, when I fled from the dungeons of Sidmouth, is now upon the eve of being fulfilled. The land and the funds must come to open conflict. Change Alley and the squares of Westminster, must be openly pitted against each other. The undis-

*guised* conflict is not far distant. I have felt, in common with my brother Reformers, the heavy hand of your Lordship and your like; but still, I so deeply detest, I so abhor; I am so hostile in my very nature, to the *muck-worm*, that I would fain find myself justified in espousing your cause, against the disgusting and all-corrupting creature. However, a Reform of the Commons' House of Parliament is what I want, it is what the country has need of; it is absolutely necessary to its salvation; and rather than not obtain it, I will join even with the Muck-worm.

I am,

My Lord,

Your most obedient

And most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

#### QUEEN'S PROCESSION TO ST. PAUL'S.

This took place on Wednesday the 29th of November. It was what the people call, a "Queen's Day;" that is to say, it was a fine day; and really, if one were disposed to be superstitious, one might easily ascribe to something other than mere chance, the very singular circumstance, that, in this rainy

season of the year, scarcely a drop of wet has fallen on the days selected for exhibitions and processions relative to her Majesty. Upon this occasion it is worth recording, that the Attorney-General began his opening Speech, that most foul and viperous attack upon her Majesty, which, however, I verily believe was imposed upon him by his instructors. It is, I say, worth recording, that he began this attack just at the moment when a dreadful *peal of thunder shook the House, and a flash of lightning filled it with a blaze*; and that the Solicitor-General began to sum up the evidence against her just at the moment of a total *eclipse of the sun!* In other times, it would not have required extraordinary credulity to believe that there has been something more than mere chance in all this. At any rate, every one must commend her Majesty for obeying the precept *not to forget God*, upon this occasion; for, though extraordinary human means have been made use of for her Majesty's protection, look at the power; look at the mass of organized and disciplined power that has been arrayed against her; look at the fortress and its band of

swearers; look at Cook, Powell and Browne; look at the Hanoverian Government and those of the nations on the Continent; look at the Bourbons, the Jesuits, the Pope and the Devil; look at these and then say, whether her Majesty ought not to be grateful to God for her deliverance. I have read and heard a great deal about persecutions; and, seeing and feeling have not been totally wanting to assist me; but, in looking back to the persecutions, the plots, the conspiracies, employed against her Majesty, I do really think that if you could find any thing to surpass them, you must resort to the archives of Hell itself; and, therefore, her deliverance from all these did, in my sincere opinion and sober judgment, call for a public thanksgiving to God.

His late Majesty made a public procession to St. Paul's to return thanks to God for his deliverance from a state of temporary derangement of mind. The deliverance was one from great suffering and human degradation: but, was the occasion calculated to excite greater gratitude than the deliverance of the Queen, against whom the infernal regions seem to

have poured forth their most deadly battalions! The people, indeed, together with the Press, have had much to do in the deliverance of her Majesty; and it is *possible*, though not very likely that the Doctors had something to do in the deliverance of the late King. However, while the Queen has often expressed her strong sense of gratitude towards the People and the Press, it was perfectly right that she should also return public thanksgiving to God. Her enemies say, that she might have done this in her closet; and the late King might have returned thanks in his closet. The Queen had not only a precedent for what she did, but she followed the example of one, whom the present King, in his first speech, as King, declares that he will keep constantly in his eye as an object of imitation; so that her Majesty has, in this case, the example of her royal father-in-law, stamped with the recognition of her own husband and sovereign.

As to a description of the procession, upon this occasion, to do any thing like bare justice to it would require ten times the space of this whole Register. A thousand or two of horsemen;

Why should they apprehend such dangers and inconvenience *at all*, and to the *peaceable and industrious* in particular? None of them were compelled to come to the procession; they might all stay away, if they pleased; if none but peaceable citizens came, what harm could they do; and if no harm happened to them, what danger would they have to experience?

Midas, shaking his ass's ears, once proposed a premium for a discovery to prevent the blind from being spies. In this day of spymongering, we may have some Midas arise who will want to find out blind men to pursue this laudable occupation; but if a conjuror should be wanted, nobody, I think, will go to seek him amongst these horror-anticipating Aldermen, who, however, anticipated *in vain*. There they were sitting all day, waiting in their magisterial robes; but there they sat alone, tranquil as the rotten weed on the lake, and wholly undisturbed in their profound cogitations, except by the distant shouts of "*God bless the Queen!*"

To turn from this disgusting subject, let us, before we dismiss this article, just observe, that this procession, together

with all the circumstances belonging to it, will, amongst other of its effects, produce an effect upon the nations of the Continent, and especially upon the councils of those who depend upon the helping hand of the present Ministry of England. To enumerate all the good effects that will arise at home and abroad from this attempt to destroy her Majesty, and from her Majesty's triumph, one must set down to reflect upon the matter for weeks. The whole of the civilized world will feel the beneficial effects of these events; and though the people and the press of England have done much, let us never forget, that her Majesty came and broke the chains of both. She could have done nothing effectual without the press and the people; but the people could have done nothing without her. In such a case, the party that makes the first move has the greatest merit, and, upon this occasion, her Majesty made the first move. It was her wise and gallant resolution to come to England and face her enemies, that has led to every thing which we now behold. To her, therefore, our thanks are due; and to support her, every Englishman is bound to do the utmost in his power.

## TO THE REFORMERS.

## COUNTRYMEN AND FRIENDS,

The time seems to be arrived for us to make to the nation an explicit, a solemn, and a formal *Declaration* of our views and intentions. It is impossible for any man in his senses to believe, that the present state of things can last long. Indeed, the very supporters of corruption avow, that a *great change* of some description must speedily take place. But, while all agree, that there must be a *change*, very few are found ready to declare what it is that they expect, or, indeed, that they wish.

It is true, that *we*, the Reformers, have repeatedly expressed, by petitions, and by other means, what are our *wishes*. But, this expression, though sufficiently plain, has been buried under a mass of co-temporary matter, and our views have been disfigured by the misrepresentations of the agents of our malignant and powerful enemies. Besides, the statements in support of our claims, the several writings in which our principles and designs have been set forth, lie scattered here and there, and are no

where embodied in one single piece of reasonable bulk. Many, who are now *young men*, were *boys* four years ago, when our struggle first began to assume a really serious aspect. Such of us as have long been engaged in the struggle, are apt to imagine, that, because we clearly understand the nature of the cause, the whole nation must clearly understand it; which, though an error natural enough, is still an error.

For these reasons, and many others that might be stated, it appears to me, that we *now* ought to send forth a *Declaration* of the description above given; and, if any considerable number of you concur with me in opinion, the following is the means that I shall adopt for effecting that purpose.

Circumstances may arise to prevent what I now intend; but, at present, my intention is to invite all who may choose to join me, to *dine* at some convenient place in London, on, or some day before, *New Year's Day*.

It is my opinion, that, from this meeting, a *Declaration* might, at *this time*, be sent forth with great advantage to the cause of *Par-*

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It is my opinion, that, from this meeting, a *Declaration* might, at *this time*, be sent forth with great advantage to the cause of *Par-*

liamentary Reform, which, indeed, is *the cause of the kingdom*. It is now clear to most men, and, I believe, to *all men*, that to change the Ministry without changing the nature of the Representation in the Commons' House, would produce *no possible good*. And, yet, is it not indescribable disgrace to this great country that this present Ministry should remain in power! Those, who, from their rank and talent, might be naturally looked towards as the successors of the Ministers, know, and, indeed, *acknowledge*, that they could not *remain* in power without the support of the *Reformers*; and, yet, to have that support they affect to *fear* to adopt the means; they affect to fear, that the adoption of those means would be *dangerous to the whole fabrick of the government*.

This, therefore, is the time for us to *appeal to the nation*; and to shew, as we easily can, that those *fears*, real or pretended, are not only wholly groundless, but that to reform the Parliament is the only means of preserving the fabrick.

Such is the object which I have in view; and such the mode in which I propose to

effect it. I by no means wish to put *myself forward* on this, or on any occasion; but, when we *want a thing done*, the example of the American Farmers has taught me, that, "*come boys!*" and not "*go boys!*" is the word.

If any Gentleman, in country or town, has any improvement to suggest, as to the manner of accomplishing the object, I shall be happy to attend to such suggestions. If the meeting take place, I shall hope to see at it many Gentlemen from the *Country*. We must all be anxious, that what we do, upon this great occasion, may be able in the manner as well as sound in the matter; and, therefore, it is desirable to draw together a mass of knowledge and talent worthy of the goodness of our cause.

If it were thought desirable to *circulate the Declaration widely*, a hundred thousand might be distributed for a sum which we could certainly raise for such a purpose. Perhaps, however, the best way will be to publish it without any subscription, and to sell it *very cheap indeed* to persons who may be disposed to hand it about amongst their neighbours, especially in the country.

I shall be glad to receive communications upon the subject *by post* (No. 269, Strand); but, *the postage must be paid*; or, I shall be, as I already should be, exposed to enormous plunder. WM. COBBETT.

### CHANGE OF MINISTRY.

The following article is from the *Morning Chronicle* of this day, 30th of November. It is not, perhaps, demi-official; but it is worth the reading; and worth some attention from us Reformers. When the reader has gone through it, he will find a remark or two of mine on the 6th paragraph, to which paragraph I beg him to pay particular attention, and also to the eighth paragraph.

"1. *The Courier* maintains that 'there is not the least truth of any change of Ministers being in contemplation;' and observes, also, 'we need not feel any reluctance in asserting that neither Lord LIVERPOOL, nor Lord HARROWBY, nor Mr. CANNING, have tendered, or mean to tender, their resignation.'

"2. But *The Courier*, not content with protestations as to the *harmony which prevails in the Cabinet*, and the firm determi-

nation of all the Ministers to remain in place (on which we shall reserve ourselves for a future day), has thought fit to assume the existence of an eager wish on the part of the Whigs to get into office. We know not what part of the conduct of the Leaders of that party could lead to any such inference. The Whigs have certainly shewn no eagerness hitherto to get into power; nay, they have more than once felt themselves compelled to decline the offers which have been made to them on that subject. They relinquished their places when they could no longer retain them without an abandonment of principle; they have refused to return to office, because they felt they could not do so without a compromise of principle; and the natural inference is, that they will never consent to accept of office on any terms inconsistent with principle.

"3. But when the present situation of the country is considered; the idea that any body of enlightened statesmen would seek for office from interested motives, is beyond measure absurd. Nothing but a high sense of the duty which they owe to their Country and the Crown could possibly induce the Whigs to undertake the administration of affairs, at a time like the present. Of this we may, however, be certain, that if, from such a state of duty, the Whigs should ever consent to accept of office, they will only do so on a clear understanding that they shall conduct the affairs of the country on such principles, as

may allow them to entertain a rational hope that they may thereby restore energy to Government, and popularity to the KING; and that they will, beforehand, take care respectfully to make these principles known to his MAJESTY.

"4. Among the points on which it would be necessary to have a clear understanding, are:

"5. The necessity of an immediate and general retrenchment of expenditure.

"6. An *Inquiry* into the abuses that have crept into our Financial Administration, our Commercial System, our *Representation*, and our Judicial Practice.

"7. A distinct determination not to abet or countenance the projects of Foreign Potentates against the internal Reforms of independent Nations.

"8. A *Restitution of all Constitutional Privileges to Catholics* and other Dissenters; and

"9. A distinct understanding, that as the *ex post facto* Bill of Pains and Penalties was thrown out, to the universal joy of all men who reverence law, no attempt should be made to revive the prosecution in any shape.

"10. Unless these points at least are conceded, no Whig Ministers ought to accept of office. This is our own opinion, and we state it as such, having had no consultation on the subject with any individual of consideration in that party, and knowing nothing of the determination to which they may have come. We have no hesi-

tation, however, in declaring, that in our minds no honest man can consent to accept of office, without these points at least be secured."

You see, there is nothing talked of here about *Reform of Parliament*, but a slight mention is made of an intended *inquiry* into abuses, that have *crept* into our *representation*! *Crept*, have they! Faith, they have not *crept*. They have stalked in bolt upright; and they have been justified, too, upon the plea of their being as notorious as the *sun at noon day*! We have not forgotten this; nor have we forgotten the release of Sir Menassah Lopez, while the jails no longer afforded dungeons sufficient for the Reformers, without sending them to hundreds of miles distant from their homes. These are no creeping abuses. This proposal to *inquire*, indeed, is creeping enough. It is like going about partridge shooting with a lanthorn. The Devil take such creeping, I say! And so we say all.

This proposition, even to *inquire*, makes only a single imperfect phrase of a paragraph; whereas "*a restitution of all constitutional privileges to Catholics*;" this famous old tub to the whale makes a distinct head in this string of propositions and proposed *benefits* to the country! None of your tricks! None of your hub-bub-boos! This is like the negro slavery reform. Any thing but a Reform of the Parliament. As to this Catholic work, I, for one, will always oppose any thing

done for the Catholics, or attempted to be done for them, *until there be a Reform of the Parliament.* I am for doing every thing for the Catholics, and for all the dissenters in religion; but it must be after, and not before a Reform of the Parliament. I am not for having a parcel of Catholic members in the Houses of Parliament to vote against every proposition for Reform, which would certainly be the case if Reform did not walk into the Houses before them. I will, therefore, join with Lord Eldon, Lord Liverpool, and even with Lord Sidmouth, against what is called Catholic emancipation, unless that measure be preceded by a Reform of the Parliament; because I know, that, if the Catholics were to carry their point before we obtained a Reform, they would go very far towards cutting our throats, if they could come within reach of them, to prevent us from getting a Reform afterwards. I again say, that I most anxiously wish to see the Catholics put upon the same footing with ourselves; but I will, to the utmost of my power, endeavour to prevent them from obtaining a bribe to assist in keeping us in slavery; that is to say, to keep us without representatives chosen by ourselves to sit in the Commons House of Parliament. So, none of your tricks, Mr. Perry! You are speaking in the absence of all authority; perhaps, you may know nothing of the intentions of your party; but you can guess; and if you guess rightly, I can tell you for fact that

your party, if they should get into place, will get in against the wishes of the people; will be baited like badgers while they are there; and will soon be kicked out again, neck and heels, to be kicked and cuffed, hooted and reprobated and scorned. *A Reform of the Parliament is what we want;* and this we will have, or your party shall have no peace or security in the possession of place and power.

#### ANOTHER FETCH!

The following is a letter from the Morning Chronicle of this day, 30th November. They assail us in all shapes, and, irksome as it is, we must notice their attacks. The Gentleman treats us here with a quotation from Mr. Craven's letter to Lord Liverpool, and thinks that because her Majesty complains of the conduct of the Ministers, she wants us to petition the King to remove those Ministers, without receiving any pledge that others will do better. But, in fact, there is not one single argument or observation in this letter of the Chronicle, which I have not anticipated and fully answered in my above inserted letter to Lord Folkestone. In the first paragraph of this Whig letter, we find repeated the stupid old falsehood, that we ourselves disagree as to the sort of Reform that we want. If this were true, it would be of no weight; because laws are never passed; even laws to inflict the penalty of banishment or death, by an unanimity of votes; but the as-

sertion is false; it is notoriously false, too, and if this gentleman do not yet know what we want, it is the more necessary that my plan (which will be found in another part of this Register) for a *declaration* to be issued by the Reformers, should be put into execution as soon as circumstances will permit.

Pray, reader, look at the *third* paragraph of this Whig letter. Mark the absurdity of the man. What does he think is to chase the pestilence from our atmosphere short of a Reform? As to his asking us to reflect on the possible ravages of the storm; cannot that storm be at once prevented by a Reform of Parliament; and without that Reform is not the storm sure to come? However, I have no time for argument with this gentleman; nor is argument with him necessary. The short and long of the matter is this: there must be a reform of the Parliament; or the Ministers must go on and the storm must come.

One word more, and that is, to caution every man who wishes to live to see better days, to stir neither hand nor foot to put out these Ministers unless their successors will pledge themselves distinctly to bring in a bill for the reforming of the Parliament. I need say no more to men who *think* upon the subject; and as to those who do not think, as they always have been, so they always will be, the prey of impostors; but, thanks be to God and the Queen, there are very few men who do not now think.

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING CHRONICLE.

"SIR,

"1. At a moment when the abhorrence and detestation of Ministers appear to have reached their climax, and when the unanimous expression of national feeling would sweep them in a storm of indignation from the councils of a Sovereign, whose confidence they have so lamentably abused, I cannot but question the judgment of those who, unquestionably possessed considerable over the minds of the many, would divert their attention to remote abuses, the means of remedying which *not two in twenty are perhaps agreed upon*, instead of permitting the popular feeling to flow in one *great uninterrupted channel of supplication for the removal of those men from power*, against whose daring assaults the highest station in the realm is no security, as the lowest is not proof against their malice. Lord Wm. Russell and Mr. Hobhouse have declared that they desire no change of Ministers, as they are satisfied no real good could result from such a measure. The latter, indeed, accords his concurrence with a dictum of Mr. Pitt's in 1784, 'that under the present system no Minister could do any good, or could in fact come into administration without becoming a bad Minister.' It is somewhat singular that this language should have been held at a Meeting called to consider the propriety of congratulating her Majesty on the defeat of her persecutors, and to pray the dismissal of the Mi-

nisters with whom that persecution originated, and which persecution her Majesty expresses a conviction will never cease while those Ministers remain in place and power. The Queen's own words will best convey her opinion on this subject.—The Queen expressly commands me to add, that her Majesty, as well as the King and the country, have reason deeply to regret that the persons who have involved all those parties in their present unhappy difficulties, should still have influence to prevent that adjustment of differences which the Queen regards as essential to their common interests. Her Majesty has never entertained a doubt that the King, if left to the guidance of his own sound judgment and honourable feelings, would at once listen to the Queen's claims upon his justice, and to the united prayers of his loyal people.—Answer to Lord Liverpool's Letter. Her Majesty thus clearly points at the authors of the late unhappy events, as still the obstructors of accommodation; their removal is therefore as essential to her honour, comfort, and, indeed, security, as to the peace and welfare of the kingdom, and safety of the throne.

"2. Fully agreeing in the necessity of *Parliamentary Reform*, I am yet at a loss to discover how that can best be accomplished by permitting those men to remain in office whose principles permit of their making the most formidable and effective use of the power with which corruption supplies them,

to resist any measure of Reform, and whose political existence depends on their maintaining the corrupt system complained of, in all its rank luxuriance. The inventors, aiders, and supporters of the Unholy Alliance, the conspiracy of Kings against the liberties of their subjects, are pledged to do so, and their zeal is stimulated by the applause of approving despots. Supposing then, this Administration dismissed and another formed, composed of men of proved talents and integrity, whose long and unwearied exertions as champions of our liberties, lay just claim to our esteem, confidence, and gratitude. Has Mr. Hobhouse so ill an opinion of mankind, as to suppose that such men would become as implacable and dangerous foes to *Rational Reform* as Castle-reagh, Sidmouth, Canning, and the rest of the Tory crew? If he indeed entertains such an opinion, let us turn our eyes inwards, and begin the reform of men before we attempt that of their institutions.

"3. I am, however, disposed to believe, that Gentlemen who profess these sentiments, do so under a conviction that the evil will work its own cure; that the clouds which are daily darkening our political horizon, if suffered to accumulate, will burst in a tempest that will purify the political atmosphere. But when they check the all-powerful popular breath which might at this moment, united and wisely directed, chase for ever from our skies their threatening, inauspicious and pesti-

lent vapours, let them; I say, reflect on the possible ravages of the storm, which no good or wise man can anticipate without horror and alarm. Ministerial men have long laboured in vain to get up what they would term Loyal Addresses. Let the people now pour them at the foot of the Throne—let the whole nation express their devotion and loyalty to their King, with their prayers for the dismissal of men, who have shaken in their folly the most sacred muniments of his Throne, and brought into question and discredit, institutes the most ancient, and functions the most venerable and respectable. I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

“TIMOLEON.”

### LET US LAUGH!

The following is taken from the *Morning Chronicle* of a few days ago! Whether the Old Gentleman be MR. PERRY himself, who, the other day, took care to remember to forget to insert *my name* in a speech that he reported; whether this Whig be this Mr. Perry, who thus endeavours to keep up the cant about “the Seditious;” or, whether it be some superannuated brother, I am sure I cannot tell; but, at any rate, it is no sedition to laugh at him.

“TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

“SIRE,

“As an Englishman, I have a right to address your Majesty, so that I shall deem no apology for this letter necessary. And I prefer addressing your Majesty through the means of a public Journal, since you yourself, when, nearly twenty years ago, I had the honour of a personal acquaintance with your Majesty, told me, ‘That as long as a free press remained in this country, its Monarch could not be corrupted by flattery.’

“Though I differ from many of my Whig friends on the question of the Queen’s guilt, I am willing to confess that the personal attachment which I still entertain for your Majesty may have warped my judgment, and I must add, that the question of Guilty or Not Guilty has nothing to do with the consideration of the Bill of Pains and Penalties. So odious—so disgusting—so unconstitutional is that Bill, that every man who is attached to the Hanoverian succession, and to the free Monarchy, established by the Whigs, in these realms, must loath and execrate it.

“The inexpediency—the impolicy—the unconstitutional nature of that Bill ought to rouse your Majesty to exertion, and compel you to look about you for a new Ministry—nay, more, to hand over the present Administration to condign punishment. I am sure that your Majesty must be much altered since I had the honour of your acquaintance, if you did not see both the impolicy and unconstitutional nature of the proceedings of your

Ministers. You were wont to be most liberal in your sentiments, most kind, generous, and humane in your nature. I believe you to be so now. I could adduce, indeed, an instance of your humanity and kindness which occurred very lately. It must, therefore, have been through inadvertency that you permitted your *traitorous* Ministers to bring forward this odious measure. I call your Ministers traitorous, for having involved the country in the most unwarrantable disturbances, and for having exposed your person to the odium, if not of the best, of the most numerous part of your subjects. The veriest Tory cannot more sincerely lament the execrable *caricatures of your person*, and *falsehoods of your conduct* which have been *invented by the seditious*; but can we blame the *poor wretches* for this conduct? Who gave them the opportunity—who gave them the plea, but those wretched Ministers who have overwhelmed the country with debt, and by this unconstitutional Bill aided the cause of irreligion and immorality? I therefore address your Majesty, in order to give you the most friendly advice—dismiss your Ministers—*take again to your counsels the friends of your youth*, and you will certainly *become the most beloved and popular Monarch*. I can personally vouch for your amiable manners, your kind heart, and your many virtues. I have not forgotten them—I have ever retained the affectionate gratitude to you personally—though I

must own that I could not approve your conduct.

“Take to your counsels *Lords Lansdown, Grey, Holland, and Erskine, once again*. Call back *Mr. Tierney*, that true and genuine Whig in the Lower House; and those *true disciples of your old friend Fox*, while they save their country, will bring to light the many and excellent qualities which I know you to possess. I beseech your Majesty not to think that I have any interested views; since the death of my old friend the immortal Fox, I have meddled little with politics, and I am now so advanced in years, that I can only write this by the aid of an amanuensis.

“Desirous to live in retirement, and to prepare for my latter end, I court not public favour or applause, and nothing but the most conscientious motives, and the most sincere attachment to your Majesty, could make me write this. The same reason will prevent my signing my name to this letter; but your Majesty will know who I am, when I inform you that it is written by one, who, when he thought himself a ruined man, received an anonymous letter containing a considerable sum of money, which was sent, though the discovery was not made for five years after, by your Majesty. Think me not, therefore, ungrateful, though nobody more thoroughly hates, and has less scruple in blaming, the iniquitous measures of your Majesty's Government. No one is more ready to acknowledge, both in public and private, your wonder-

*ful talents and excellent heart.*—No one more sincerely laments, that through the impolicy of your Government, your character has been so *belied* and exposed to *insults and misrepresentations*, as *false* and *unfounded* as they are *foul* and *calumnious*, than your grateful and dutiful subject,  
 "AN OLD FOXITE."

ANSWER TO LORD LIVERPOOL'S LETTER.

My Lord,—I have been honoured by her Majesty's commands to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship's letter of yesterday, and to state that her Majesty cannot for a moment misunderstand its real purport.

The Queen perceives that the King's ministers have resolved to prevent Parliament from assembling for the dispatch of business at the time to which both Houses had adjourned. The justice and wisdom of the legislature would at that period, beyond all doubt, have restored her to the full enjoyment of those rights which the Constitution has vested in the Queen-Consort. The ministers plainly show that such is their belief, and they are determined, for some purposes of their own, to delay the redress to which she is entitled.

In a measure thus alike contemptuous towards Parliament and the nation, the Queen perceives a still deeper design. It is impossible to doubt that the authors of the late bill have formed the project of trying in some other shape their baffled scheme of degrading her Ma-

jesty, and ruining the best interests of the august family to which she belongs. Defeated in their first attempt—disgraced in the eyes of the people—consigned to the contempt of all Europe—deserted by the most rational and respected of their own adherents—they meditate a new attack on the honour of the Queen. Their speculations must be founded on the hope that the public sentiment, so loudly and universally expressed, will at length be wearied and exhausted, and that the Queen herself will no longer have patience to resist such cruel and endless persecutions. But her Majesty owes it to the British nation to declare, that she has the firmest reliance upon their support as long as she is the victim of oppression; and to herself she deems it due to add, that no harassing treatment on the part of the King's ministers will ever shake the duty she owes to this generous people. She has also the strongest conviction that the King's highest interests are at the present moment as much betrayed as those of the state, by the evil counsellors who are now once more plotting her destruction.

To the offer of money with which Lord Liverpool has thought proper to accompany his notice of the intended prorogation of Parliament, her Majesty has no answer to give but a direct refusal. Nearly ten months have elapsed since his late Majesty's death, and no parliamentary provision has been yet proposed for her. As long as the bill was pending the Queen

saw the propriety of accepting the advances made for her accommodation; but she will not accept as a favour from the ministers, what a due regard for the honour of the Crown would induce Parliament to grant as a right; and she is still more averse to impose upon the people the unnecessary burden of finding a palace for her, when the national munificence has already provided royal residences for all the Princesses who fill her exalted station.

The Queen expressly commands me to add, that her Majesty, as well as the King and the country, has reason deeply to regret that the persons who have involved all those parties in their present unhappy difficulties should still have influence to prevent that adjustment of differences which the Queen regards as essential to their common interests. Her Majesty has never entertained a doubt that the King, if left to the guidance of his own sound judgment and honourable feelings, would at once listen to the Queen's claims upon his justice, and to the united prayers of his loyal people.—I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's obedient humble servant,

R. KEPPELL CRAVEN.

*Brandenburgh-House,  
Nov. 18, 1820.*

#### ADDRESS OF THE CITY OF LONDON TO THE QUEEN.

"TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

"The dutiful and loyal Address of the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the

City of London, in Common Council assembled.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

"We, his Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, in Common Council assembled, desire affectionately to offer to your Majesty our sincere and joyful congratulations upon the triumphal refutation of the foul charges brought against your Majesty's character and honour, and the exposure of a conspiracy still more powerful and detestable than any of those of which your Majesty has formerly been the object.

"That the investigation into your Majesty's conduct, however unconstitutionally instituted and unfairly carried on, would terminate in the establishment of your Majesty's innocence, we confidently anticipated, when we lately offered our assurances of regard on your Majesty's return to our country. But we feel the greatest reason of rejoicing at the fulfilment of our expectations, when we consider the detestable but formidable means employed by your accusers to achieve your ruin; means against which, but for the power that guards the oppressed, no character could be secure. And while we contemplate with unspeakable horror and disgust the loathsome spectacle of the power of sovereigns, and the servility of courtiers, the influence of ministers and the treasure of kingdoms, employed in hiring spies and slanderers, corrupting servants, fabricating ob-

scene calumnies, suborning wretched perjurers, erecting secret tribunals, perverting justice, and withholding the means of defence, we admire the undaunted courage, inspired by conscious rectitude, which could encounter, baffle, and defeat such mighty and infernal machinations.

"Well knowing that every fresh proof of the innocence of the victim of false accusers serves but to redouble their malice, and aware of the character and condition of some of those who undertook to sit in judgment on your Majesty, we have felt no surprise, and trust your Majesty will feel no concern at their votes and declarations; the first minister of the crown himself has shown what value is to be attributed to them.

"Our earnest hope, therefore, is, that condemning the baseness of courtiers, and feeling that the only security for the prince as well as the humblest citizen, is, in the freedom, the intelligence and the spirit of the people, your Majesty will henceforth continue to reside amongst them, in the full enjoyment of your dignity, and in the exercise of every virtue that can claim and secure the esteem and affection of a generous nation.

(Signed)

"By order of the Court,

"HENRY WOODTHORPE."

To which her Majesty was pleased to return the following Answer:—

I am deeply impressed, and unfeignedly obliged by this loyal and affectionate Address from the Lord-Mayor, Alder-

men, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled.

That powerful conspiracy which solely menaced my destruction is humbled in the dust. The fabric of accusation which it had raised on the basis of fraud and falsehood, has been demolished! It has been shattered by the touch of truth, until the whole is vanished into empty air.

The victory which we have obtained is a subject of rejoicing on various accounts: but particularly because it is the victory of the best principles over the worst. It is the victory of truth over falsehood; of integrity over injustice; and of humanity over malignity, in its most revolting aspect and most hideous form.

But what is in the highest degree satisfactory is, that it is a victory by which the most valuable rights of the nation have in some measure been secured, and by which a more free expansion has been given to the principles of liberty.

If my enemies had prevailed, the people, who are now feared, would have been despised. Their oppression would have been indefinitely increased, and what can be more intolerable than oppression aggravated by contempt?

It is to the good feelings and good principles, to the sympathizing tenderness, and the generous support of the people, excited and energized by the all-powerful agency of the press, that I am principally indebted for my present security from the grasp of such a gigantic conspi-

racy as never before threatened the security of an individual.

Though I am far from believing that my presence in this country can be so conducive to the national welfare as the nation seems to suppose, yet, when that sentiment is so warmly cherished and so extensively diffused, I feel it a duty to make it the rule of my conduct, and to conform my will to that of the community: whilst my residence in this country is the earnest desire of the nation, my heart will never oppose itself to that desire.

The considerations of health or convenience will yield to that of the general good.

The people have made many sacrifices for me, and I will live for the people.

#### HER MAJESTY'S ANSWERS TO ADDRESSES.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF ST. JOHN,  
WAPPING.

The inhabitants of St. John, Wapping, in the county of Middlesex, are requested to accept my cordial acknowledgments for this loyal and affectionate address.

When I determined not to negotiate with my enemies at a distance, but to meet them face to face in London, I was conscious that, as long as I claimed no more than my just, constitutional rights, I should receive the resolute and steady support of the English nation. I knew the rancour of my adversaries; but I also knew the force of public opinion in this country;

and I was convinced that, as long as that opinion could be freely expressed, I should be protected against injustice and oppression, and had nothing to dread either from open violence or insidious machinations.

A short time convinced me that I had not erroneously calculated upon the generous sympathies of the English nation. The people every where exhibited the most lively sympathy with my sufferings, and the most intrepid zeal in the vindication of my rights. A sort of chivalrous feeling seems to have pervaded the kingdom.

All history teaches us that nations are subject to intervals of enthusiasm on religious or political topics. Enthusiasm in general is a violent effervescence of blind feeling, of a vague and confused kind, without being attached to distinct ideas, or capable of being comprehended in any definite terms. But the enthusiasm which is now felt is something of a very intelligible kind.—It is a strong excitement both of the mind and heart, in favour of law, of justice, and humanity; all equally violated in the person of the Queen.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE AN-  
CIENT BOROUGH OF SUDBURY.

I am unfeignedly obliged by this loyal and affectionate address from the inhabitants of the ancient borough of Sudbury.

Every freeman ought to be more attached to principles than to individuals. Individuals perish, but principles are immortal. Individuals differ at different times, and under different circumstan-

ces; but principles are the same in all periods, in all regions, and every diversity of contingencies. Truth and justice do not change their nature according to any given longitude or latitude, according as the atmosphere is heavy or light, or the thermometer high or low. Particular principles may have partisans, but partisans do not make principles. Principles exist independent of party. Truth is not less or more truth, because it happens to be rejected by one great individual, or embraced by another. The people of this country were once the slaves of individual authority; a mere name was the watch-word of union. They are now, happily for them and for mankind, more attached to principles than to individuals, and more enamoured of permanent and definite truths, than of fugitive and empty sounds.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF TEWKESBURY.

I return my sincere thanks to the inhabitants of Tewkesbury and its vicinity, for this loyal and affectionate address.

The defenders of constitutional liberty were never so numerous as at the present period.

The unjustifiable attack upon my rights has caused them to rise up, not merely in detached instances, but in numerous bodies, in every part of the kingdom. Every city, borough, town and village swarms with the patriotic vindicators of the Queen's rights, and of the nation's liberties. The rights of the Queen rise in importance in proportion as they are connected with the liberties of the nation. Liberty is the greatest of all blessings; for without it no other can be permanent or secure. Who would wish to have his property or his life dependent on the arbitrary will of an individual?

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